

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 095424

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DRAFTED BY: S/ S- O: JMCUNNIGLE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USINT CAIRO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 095424

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE, DIA INFO ABU DHABI, AMMAN,  
JIDDA, KUWAIT, LONDON, MOSCOW, PARIS, TEHRAN, TEL AVIV,  
USUN, MAY 18, FROM BEIRUT RPTD TO YOU:

QUOTE

S E C R E T BEIRUT 5755

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, LE

SUBJECT: GOL REQUEST FOR USG ASSISTANCE

REF: STATE 94202

SUMMARY. GOL HAS OBTAINED FROM FATAH, PFLP AND PDFLP  
SPECIFIC CONCESSIONS ( SEPTTEL) WHICH GO BEYOND MINIMAL DEMANDS  
REPORTED EARLIER. IT IS ON BASIS OF FEDAYEEN ACCEPTANCE THESE  
SPECIFIC POINTS THAT GOL WOULD LIKE US TO MAKE DEMARCHES  
DISCUSSED REFTTEL. DEMARCHES WOULD BE IN SUPPORT OF FULL  
IMPLEMENTATION OF PROMISES MADE BY FEDAYEEN ORGANIZATIONS,  
WHICH GOL INTENDS PROVIDE ARAB AND CERTAIN OTHER GOVTS  
THROUGH ITS OWN DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. USSR STILL CONSIDERED  
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 095424

TO BE TOP PRIORITY SINCE GOL CONSIDERS IT HAS GREATEST  
POTENTIAL INFLUENCE ON ACTIONS OF FEDAYEEN AND OF SYRIA.  
THIS ALL MORE IMPORTANT SINCE SAIQA HAS NOT RPT NOT EX-  
PLICITLY ACCEPTED PROMISES MADE BY OTHERS AND SARG

POSITION REMAINS VERY UNCLEAR. CONCERNING ISRAEL, CHARGE INFORMED FONMIN AND DIB OUR ESTIMATE OF ISRAELI POSITION RE LEBANON AND INDICATED WE HAD RECENTLY BEEN IN TOUCH WITH ISRAELIS ON GENERAL PROBLEM. END SUMMARY.

1. CHARGE AND EMBOFF MET MORNING MAY 18 WITH FONMIN ABOUT HAMAD, PRESIDENCY DIRECTOR- GENERAL DIB AND FONOFF SEC- GEN SADAQA TO INFORM THEM SUBSTANCE CONTENTS REFTEL. CHARGE ALSO SAID THAT SINCE LAST MEETING ON MAY 15 WE HAD APPROACHED USSR AGAIN IN MOSCOW AND HAD BEEN IN CONTACT WITH ISRAELIS RE GENERAL PROBLEM WHICH GOL FACING AT PRESENT. CHARGE GAVE GROUP DEPT' S ESTIMATE RE ISRAELI INTENTIONS ALONG LINES PARA 6 REFTEL. SADAQA ASKED WHAT USG WOULD DO SHOULD SITUATION CHANGE ( E. G., SYRIAN INTERVENTION) AND ISRAEL FELT OBLIGED TAKE MILITARY ACTION IN LEBANON. CHARGE REPLIED THAT OUR BASIC POSITION REMAINS ONE OF SUPPORTING LEBANESE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, BUT THAT IT NOT POSSIBLE TO SAY WHAT ACTION WE WOULD TAKE IN VAGUE HYPOTHETICAL CIRCUMSTANCES SADAQA HAD MENTIONED. FONMIN APPEARED WELL SATISFIED WITH OUR POSITION VIS- - VIS ISRAEL.

2. AFTER INFORMING GOL OF OUR WILLINGNESS MAKE DEMARCHES REQUESTED OF US, CHARGE ASKED FONMIN IF HE COULD NOT BE CLEARER RE SORT OF DEMARCHE GOL HAS IN MIND AND WHEN THEY SHOULD BE MADE, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF REPORTS THAT GOL AND FEDAYEEN HAD REACHED AGREEMENT IN MIXED COMMISSION EVENING OF MAY 17. FONMIN ASKED DIB TO EXPLAIN JUST WHERE GOL STOOD WITH FEDAYEEN SINCE THIS ESSENTIAL BACKGROUND FOR DETERMINING HOW TO PITCH DEMARCHE. DIB' S REPORT BEING SENT SEPTTEL, BUT IN SUMMARY GOL HAS OBTAINED FROM FEDAYEEN GREATER CONCESSIONS THAN THOSE LISTED AS MINIMAL DEMANDS. FEDAYEEN CONCESSIONS ARE IN FORM OF UNILATERAL PROMISES UNDERTAKE CERTAIN ACTIONS AND NOT RPT NOT IN FORM OF NEW GOL- FEDAYEEN AGREEMENT. ARMY IS TO PREPARE PAPER INCORPORATING THESE PROMISES WHICH GOL WILL PROVIDE TO ARAB GOVTS AND CERTAIN OTHER GOVTS IN ORDER THAT THERE BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING AS TO SUBSTANCE OF FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GOL AND FEDAYEEN.

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 095424

HOWEVER, NOW THAT FEDAYEEN HAVE ACCEPTED, THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM BEGINS OF BRINGING ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION OF PROMISES AND ASSURING THAT THERE NO BACKSLIDING BY FEDAYEEN. ARMY AND FEDAYEEN WORKING ON MODALITIES AND TIME- TABLE FOR IMPLEMENTATION AT PRESENT TIME. ANOTHER OUTSTANDING PROBLEM IS FACT THAT SAIQA AND PFLP/ GC HAVE NOT DIRECTLY AND EXPLICITLY AGREED TO COMMITMENTS MADE BY OTHERS. FATAH, PFLP AND PDFLP REPS ON MIXED COMMISSION STATE THEY SPEAKING FOR ALL FEDAYEEN ORGANIZATIONS, BUT GOL DOES NOT RPT NOT ACCEPT THIS AS NECESSARILY SO. PROBLEM OF PFLP/ GC IS OF LESSER MAGNITUDE THAN THAT OF SAIQA, SINCE LATTER REFLECTS ATTITUDE OF SYRIAN GOVERNMENT AND OF COURSE HAS MORE MEN.

3. ABOUHAMAD SAID HE THOUGHT USG DEMARCHES TO SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, ABU DHABI AND IRAN ( AND ANY FURTHER TALKS WE MIGHT HAVE WITH JORDAN) SHOULD STRESS VITAL IMPORTANCE TO LEBANON AND ENTIRE REGION OF IMPLEMENTATION OF FEDAYEEN PROMISES, SINCE GOL FAILURE TO ESTABLISH ITS SOVEREIGNTY OVER ITS OWN TERRITORY AND THOSE LIVING THEREIN ( AS OTHER ARAB GOVTS HAVE DONE) WOULD SURELY RESULT IN ULTIMATE DESTRUCTION OF PRO- WESTERN, DEMOCRATIC, FREE- ENTERPRISE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH LEBANESE SYSTEM RESTS, AS WELL AS CREATE NEW SOURCE OF MAJOR TENSION IN AREA WHICH NONE OF COUNTRIES TO BE APPROACHED WOULD WANT. GOL HAS NO RPT NO INTENTION OF " LIQUIDATING" FEDAYEEN MOVEMENT AND WISHES PRESERVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH THEM WITHIN LIMITATIONS DICTATED BY LEBANESE SOVEREIGNTY. GOL HAS ALREADY SPOKEN TO ARAB GOVTS, EXPLAINING ITS CASE, AND WILL DO SO AGAIN EARLY NEXT WEEK WHILE PASSING ALONG COPY OF FEDAYEEN PROMISES.

SUBSEQUENT SUPPORTING DEMARCHE BY USG, AND IF POSSIBLE BY OTHER GOVTS ( WE ASSUME HE MEANT FRANCE AND ENGLAND AND PERHAPS OTHER WESTERN EUROPEANS) WOULD ADD CONSIDERABLE WEIGHT TO GOL DEMARCHE. IMPORTANT THING IS TO ENSURE THAT FEDAYEEN KEEP THEIR PROMISES IN FACT AND THAT AS TIME GOES ON THEY NOT BE ALLOWED BACKSLIDE. GOL INTENDS SUPERVISE THIS VERY CLOSELY BUT WILL NEED SUPPORT FROM GOVTS WHICH CONTRIBUTE MOST TO FEDAYEEN COFFERS.

4. CONCERNING SOVS, ABOU HAMAD SAID THEY CONTINUE BE MOST IMPORTANT GOVT IN TERMS OF STABILITY INFLUENCE SITUATION FOR GOOD OR BAD. THEY HAD DIRECT INFLUENCE ON FEDAYEEN IN LEBANON AS WELL AS ON THEIR LEFT- WING ALLIES SUCH AS LEBANESE COMMUNIST  
SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 095424

PARTY AND KAMAL JUMBLATT. THEY ALSO HAVE MAJOR INDIRECT INFLUENCE THROUGH THEIR STRONG POSITION IN DAMASCUS AND BAGHDAD WHICH ARE MAJOR SOURCES OUTSIDE TROUBLE FOR LEBANON. ONE OF FRANGIE' S SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES IS TO OBTAIN EXPLICIT COMMITMENT BY SAIQA TO PROMISES MADE BY OTHER FEDAYEEN ORGANIZATIONS AND THIS WOULD DEPEND UPON ATTITUDE OF SARG. USSR COULD BE VERY HELPFUL ON THIS SPECIFIC POINT AS WELL AS IN COUNSELLING MODERATION GENERALLY ON SARG AND OTHERS.

5. ABOUHAMAD AND DIB CLOSED MEETING BY THANKING US FOR ALL SUPPORT USG HAS ALREADY PROVIDED AND FOR WHATEVER MORE WE CAN DO. THEY REPORTED THEIR CONVICTION THAT ONLY WAY TO AVOID ANOTHER, MORE SERIOUS EXPLOSION IN LEBANON IS FOR FEDAYEEN TO ACTUALLY MAKE GOOD ON PROMISES AND THEN TRY NOT BACK AWAY FROM THEM WITH PASSAGE OF TIME. SUPPORT FROM VARIOUS OUTSIDE GOVTS WHOM USG WILL APPROACH WILL BE VITAL IN THIS PROCESS.  
HOUGHTON

UNQUOTE. RUSH

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